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body. Sometimes he skips two or three dancers in the row, then turns back a little toward the left, suddenly turning away from the line in order to dash off in long dancing jumps, nimbly and gracefully forming a semicircle, or it may be even a circle, around the girls. Some performers deliberately kick up the sand with the tips of the feet during this maneuver. The precentor's work is very arduous; he drips with perspiration and, notwithstanding minor intermissions, he is usually quite exhausted at the end of the dance. Sometimes his colleague must take over the last part of the dance. In Ponto there were times when more than fifty girls and women were dancing in a row; then one precentor will not suffice, so two appear simultaneously, one dancing before the right wing, the other before the left, their songs and movements coinciding perfectly.

As noted by Pohl[=] and myself, the youths start their activity not at the first song, but as a rule only at the second or third. Almost always they hold some weapon while dancing—a club or arrow or, it may be, nothing more than a stick. Some make special staves for the purpose, tipping them with some sort of tassel. The dancer grasps the club by the butt, not by the handle. Almost always one or two of the dancers brings along a trumpet, which is either held in the hand or suspended on the back by a neck cord. It consists of (a) a bamboo tube blown by a lateral hole and often decorated with pretty twilling in two colors; and (b) a long gourd resonator set at an obtuse angle (padavą', *Lagenaria* sp.). (See pl. 27, *a*.) Sometimes a cow horn cemented to the tube serves as a funnel-shaped resonator, in which case the instrument is called hõ'hí. (See pl. 27, *b*.) It is blown in short, rapid blasts, especially before the dance and during intermissions, the fundamental and then the overtone becoming audible.

The youths, with legs outstretched, gently swing their knees, leaping and dancing in a body toward the girls as long as the precentor dances in front of the female line. But as soon as he turns away to execute his semicircle, the youths likewise retreat up to some thirty meters, leaping and yelling. In the dances held at daybreak they always utter a prolonged shout in chorus when starting a new stanza.

The first dance takes place between 3 and 4 A.M. The unmarried mepantúa and the wantons who sleep with them in the plaza are naturally not slow about taking their places, while the girls and young women who sleep in their mothers' homes and the women's husbands lag behind. The council had charged my hąpín, Čątú, with the duty of tending to the requisite quorum of participants. Accordingly, as soon as the dance had begun he would go from house to house around the boulevard, rousing the truants and sending them to the plaza. He was particularly eager to have me accompany him on this circuit, hence woke me up before the rest, quite contrary at times to my convenience.

Toward 5 A.M. the chanting always grows extraordinarily wild and passionate. Anyone wishing to get a clear picture of Timbira dances ought to watch them at that time of day. Half an hour later the singing abruptly ceases. The precentor plants his rattle in the ground by its tip, turns about, and goes home, whereupon the dancers of both sexes withdraw and hurry off to bathe in the creek. Their place is then jointly taken by the chiefs and elders, who for the most part have already made their appearance to attend the close of the performance.

The second dance is held a little before sunset, whence its name, pųtkammekre, and consists of only five songs. The number of participants is less than at the other dances. At this time the councilors are assembled for the second deliberation of the day. Certain minor ceremonies are customary on this occasion, such as the tasting of cultivated fruits, the presentation of persons discharged from seclusion, etc.

[=] Pohl, Reise, 2:206.

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Properly the commandant-in-chief ought to punish incontinence, but such disciplinary action was rare and, in general, Kopkré's choice for this important office proved rather unfortunate. Contrary to ancient custom, a fair number of pepyé were already married, and these often sneaked off to their wives instead of spending the night in their cells. Anciently, transgressors with wanton women would have been forced to eat large doses of pepper; and the Apa'nyekra seated the guilty couple publicly in the plaza, which was reckoned a disgrace. In 1933 the commandant could not strictly enforce the rule because he himself was an offender; one night I myself caught not indeed his wife, but a wanton slipping into his cell. The deputy was far more scrupulous; during the entire period of segregation he slunk off only on two or three nights to caress an infant daughter in his young wife's house.

At intervals of several days the pepyé secretly met at night in the courtyard of the deputy or, at times, of the commandant—usually because of some gross breach of the rules. The penalty, if inflicted, consisted of flogging by the errand boys acting under the deputy's orders after a secret agreement between him and the commandant. The errand boys accordingly always appear in public with their rods, which are about 1.30 m. long, very thin, and flexible. At the meetings both the commandant and his deputy uttered lengthy admonitions and tirades mainly bearing on the rules of seclusion and marriage. Maintenance of the former insures a successful internment, that is, one by which the pepyé rapidly acquire, in native belief, the strength of men, being enabled to pit themselves in sport against the next older class—a matter of honor. The marriage regulations loom large, because formerly most of the pepyé married soon after the festival and moved into the houses of their mothers-in-law. In matrimony, too, the Indians' supreme rule is to avoid quarrels, let alone brawls, which were expressly branded as setting a bad example for the children, who are to be educated in the traditional mores. A spouse's industry is represented as prerequisite to a happy union, but the harangues also refer to the faults of some girls, such as frivolity, laziness, and mendacity. Further, the lectures extend to the proper behavior toward kin, especially toward the wife's relatives, to the formalized friendship bonds, and to the prerogatives of elders, who are always to be treated with reverence. Thievery and lying are denounced.

Actual conduct, it must be admitted, more or less deviates from the ideals preached, nevertheless the reality of the standards is certain; and to judge from the spontaneous remarks made to me by various pepyé, at least under the influence of the ceremonial setting, many of the youths took them very seriously.

The commandant is responsible to the council for the demeanor and prosperity of his pepyé, being blamed if the young men fall short of the standards, physical and moral, at the close of their initiation.

Between 3 A.M. and 10 P.M. the catcher makes about five daily circuits through all the houses of internment. He carries a thick, heavy cane, 1.65 m. in length, not club-fashion under his arm, but so as to lean on it in walking. In the daytime he takes his stand before the cell, at night before the door of the house of retreat, facing the plaza, and remains silent for one or two minutes, both hands laid on the upper end of his cane. Then, rocking his body to and fro, he loudly utters his "hinkõ" cry, "hõ! hõ–õ!" At the last "õ!" he stamps with his right foot, waits immobile for another minute, and then passes on to the next house.

Besides the scratchers (pl. 35, *b*), shared with all other persons who for some reason have to go into a ceremonial retreat, the pepyé have two objects peculiar to their seclusion and made only during this period.

Their club (koppo) is a narrow board, 4–6 cm. wide and 60–112 cm. long, with the

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lower end pointed on the sword-club pattern; the upper end, which is sometimes decorated with openwork over a span in length and often very prettily, terminates in comblike tines 4–6 cm. long (pl. 36). A soft sound is produced by moistening the skin on the inside of the upper arm with the tongue and stroking it back and forth with the tines. This sound is the signal by which the pepyé identify themselves on mutual visits at night.

A second object often found in the hands of pepyé, but otherwise only rarely (as a children's toy), is the bull-roarer (pīkwęk) (pl. 35, *e*). After nightfall and before daybreak the class leader should swing the instrument, the alarm being passed on from cell to cell to make sure that its inmate has not fallen asleep, in which case the commandant would punish him. This was the subsequent statement of the commandant who had functioned in 1933, but during that festival the signal was certainly not given with regularity, but at best now and then. As a participant I only occasionally heard the booming sound for a few moments and did not learn its meaning until later. Once I overheard the following dialogue between two pepyé, which the commandant's explanation elucidates: "Did you hear my bull-roarer this noon?" "Yes!" "I thought you were asleep."

That the bull-roarer was part of the insignia peculiar to pepyé is indicated by the term pepyetokárčą in the speech of the Čą'kamekra, nowadays extinct as a separate tribe, whose specimens were considerably larger and of more careful make than their present Rąmkõ'kamekra equivalents. It seems clear that the comparative insignificance of the bull-roarer at initiation does not represent its original role.

A pepyé in retreat carefully extends the lobes of his ears to fit them for the earplugs (kúi) (see pl. 4, *a–c*). From time to time the youths widen this part of the ear, which is developed into a loop of skin, by inserting both their forefingers and then twisting the loop; at intervals of a few days the plugs are superseded by new and somewhat bigger ones.

The deputy daily notched a four-edged stick (amkrópupunčą, day counter) to keep tally of the days elapsed since the capture of the pepyé (pl. 35, *g*).

The pepyé passed the time with various diversions: one of them constructed a ventilator wheel, another carved a model of the type of motorboat plying on the Mearim, still others plaited little baskets, bags or mats of anajá grass, which they used in their subsequent parades and camps.

Sometimes when the village lacked meat, the pepyé furtively marched into the steppe to hunt. On one trip they stole a neighboring farmer's ox; the council by no means sanctioned this procedure, but had the errand boys bring the two chief malefactors to the plaza and gave them a terrific reprimand, so that they stood there quite abashed, notwithstanding the supercilious bearing at first assumed by one of the culprits. At night, before all their fellow novices, the two commandants once more subjected them to prolix harangues and reprimands.

Thus the weeks passed. In the meantime the wakõ'kama, being the youngest of the eastern classes and hence the novices' opponents, gathered daily in the western vụ'tę''s house and arranged many log races with the next older põhį'kama class camped on the west side. These latter, using the eastern vụ'tę' house as their lodge, belong to the same team league as the pepyé of 1933, whose subsequent position would also be on the west side of the plaza, to the north of their predecessors on that side.

Inspection of new leaders.—About 4:30 P.M. on May 23, the põhį'kama and wakõ'kama classes (western and eastern, respectively) began to dance jointly in the plaza, while the hąpín and pinčwę'i of the eastern leader of the pepyé assembled

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The pepkahą'k mostly idled in their hut, but frequently went bathing—always in their fixed marching order: first came the mamkyẽ'ti, the old mekapónkate bringing up the rear, and the two mekuiẽwẹ'i in the middle. Some members occasionally did a little hunting, incidentally one day stealing and eating an ox that did not belong to the Indians. They fashioned the carved heads of their wands and the rest of the decorative outfit, consisting of bandoleers and neckbands, sometimes also including wristlets of tucum cords dyed black. Apart from this they loafed, separated by moieties into two rows along the longitudinal walls of their rectangular hut.

Food collection.—Every afternoon toward 4:30, food is collected from the participants' maternal homes in the same ceremonial fashion. At this hour the pepkahą'k leave their hut very slowly and softly, without saying a word, and march to the village in the prescribed order. The first villager to catch sight of them calls the attention of the community to the fact by a piercing yell, so that the inmates of the houses may prepare the food for the performers. As soon as the pepkahą'k have reached the path reserved for them outside the circle of domiciles, they turn to the right into this road of theirs and follow it, passing from south to east, north and west around the village. No one meets them or looks at them during this procession. When the silent parade comes to pass the rear door of the maternal home of a pepkahą'k, one of his kinswomen steps out, and without looking at him, hands him a gourd bowl filled with food, whereupon she quickly retires as the column slowly moves on.

After making the circuit of the village and receiving each one his bowl of food, they marched on to their hut, in front of which there is a scaffold of poles on which the bowls can be set down. In the space before the hut a great many mats are lying about for the pepkahą'k to rest on. The leaders (mamkyẽ'ti) first segregate the share of the two directors (hapą'nkate); the remainder they divide equally among all those present, who consume the food while sitting on the mats. The next morning the errand boys return the empty bowls to the houses.

Evening and night.—At nightfall the two directors regularly meet in the plaza, then jointly go to the place of internment. At the margin of the space before the house the leaders receive them, in a soft voice report to them, and answer their questions. This conference may last a fairly long time, for at least toward the close of the celebration the directors have to convey many instructions and explanations for the following day. Sometimes the two directors linger on for a while in the space in front of the house, but never very long; for the most part they soon retire, carrying off their allotment of food. Except for these visits in the evening they never come to the hut of seclusion.

After the directors' visit, when it has grown quite dark, that is, about 7 P.M., the old precentor goes to the pepkahą'k, usually accompanied by the two girls secluded as associates during the preceding celebration; they are to give instructions in singing to their young successors and otherwise to aid them. The pepkahą'k were always glad to see me join their number with the carved staff that had been presented to me.

As soon as the precentor has arrived, one of the leaders produces a protracted sound on his horn whistle, a signal to the villagers that the pepkahą'k songs are about to start and that during the chants all loud noise, including the barking of dogs, is to be suppressed. The mats are pushed into place, and each member grasps his staff, these insignia varying in length all the way from 1 to 1.60 m., but being always provided with a carved head. The staff and the black cord decoration are the badges of membership.

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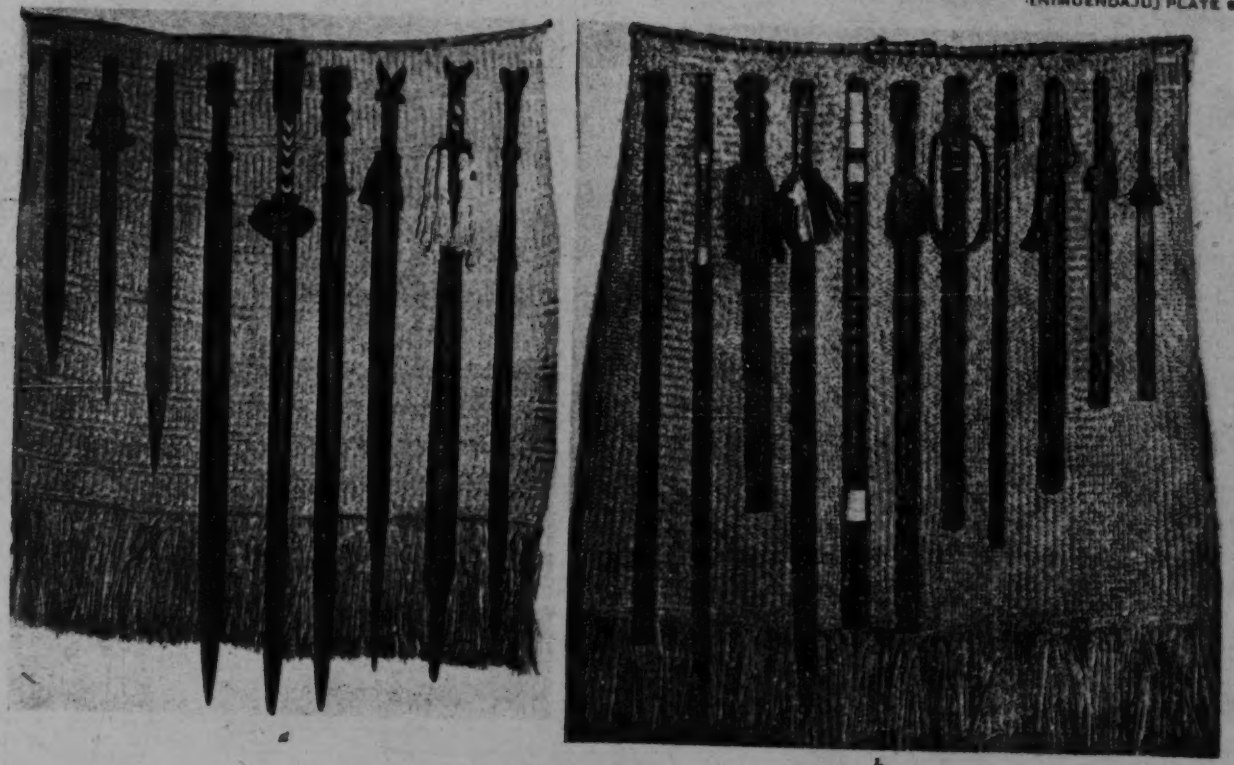

BURITY MATS AND CLUBS

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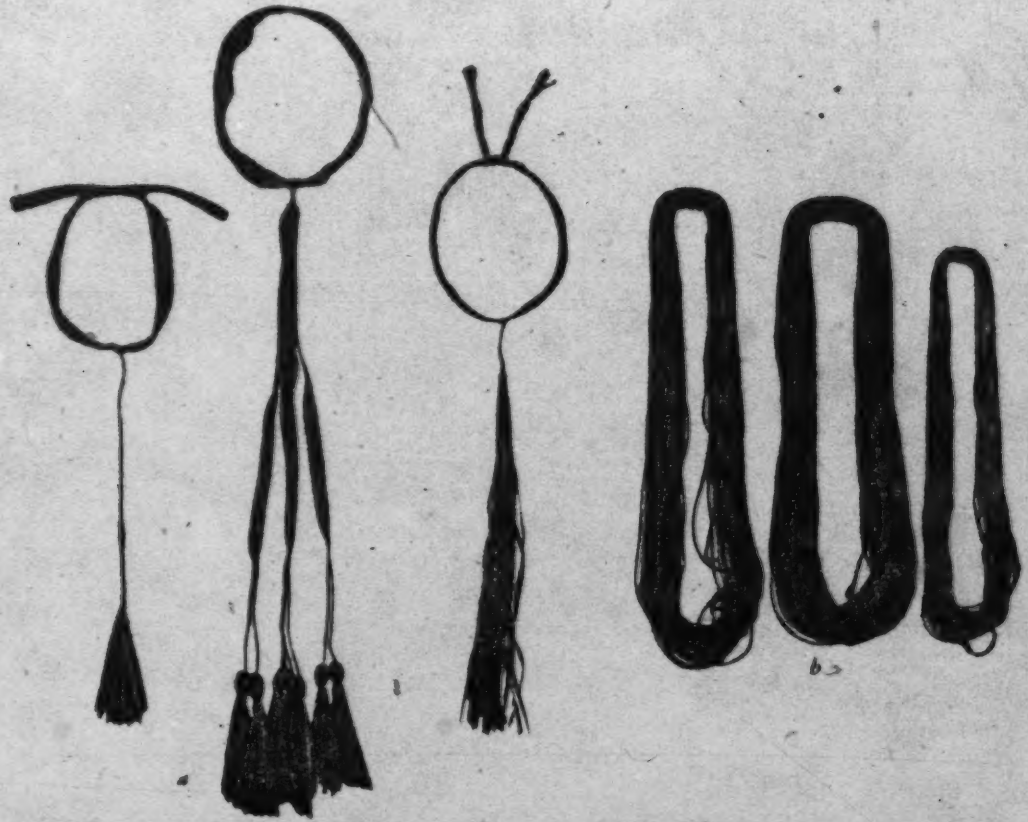

FOREHEAD BANDS; CORD GIRDLE

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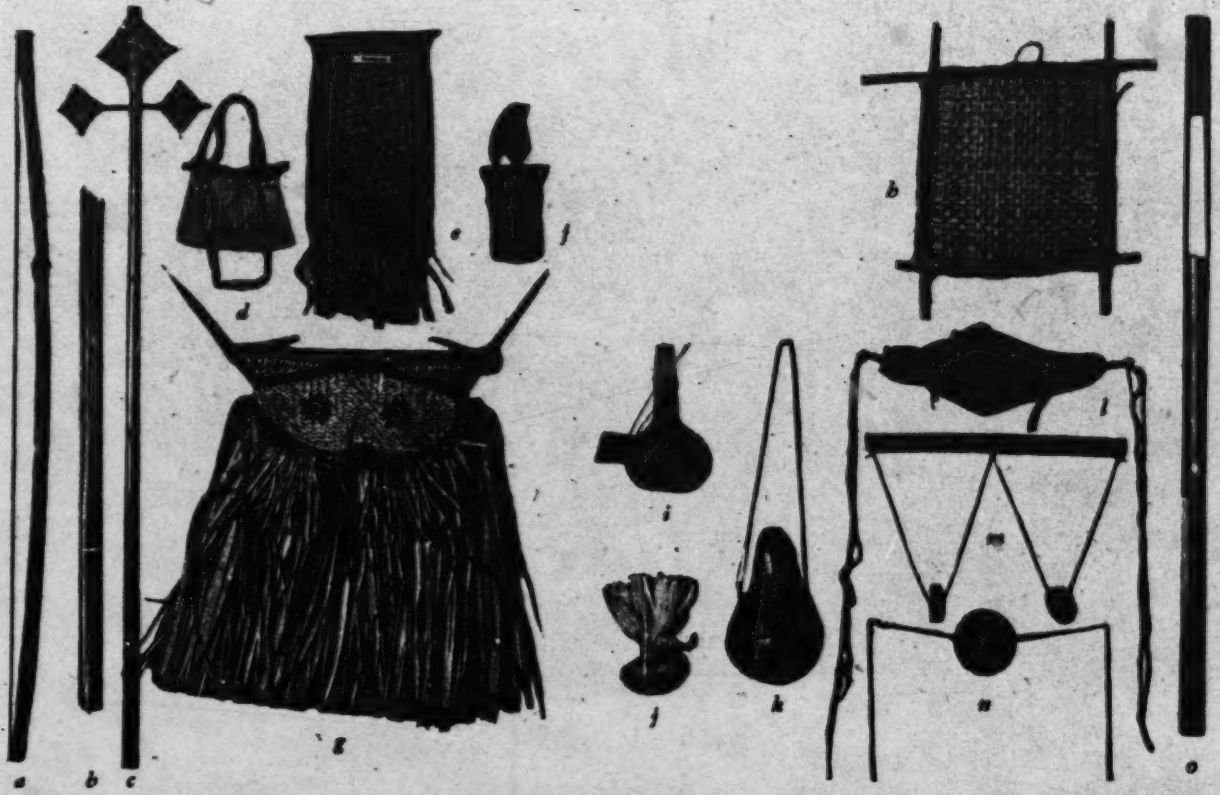

TOYS

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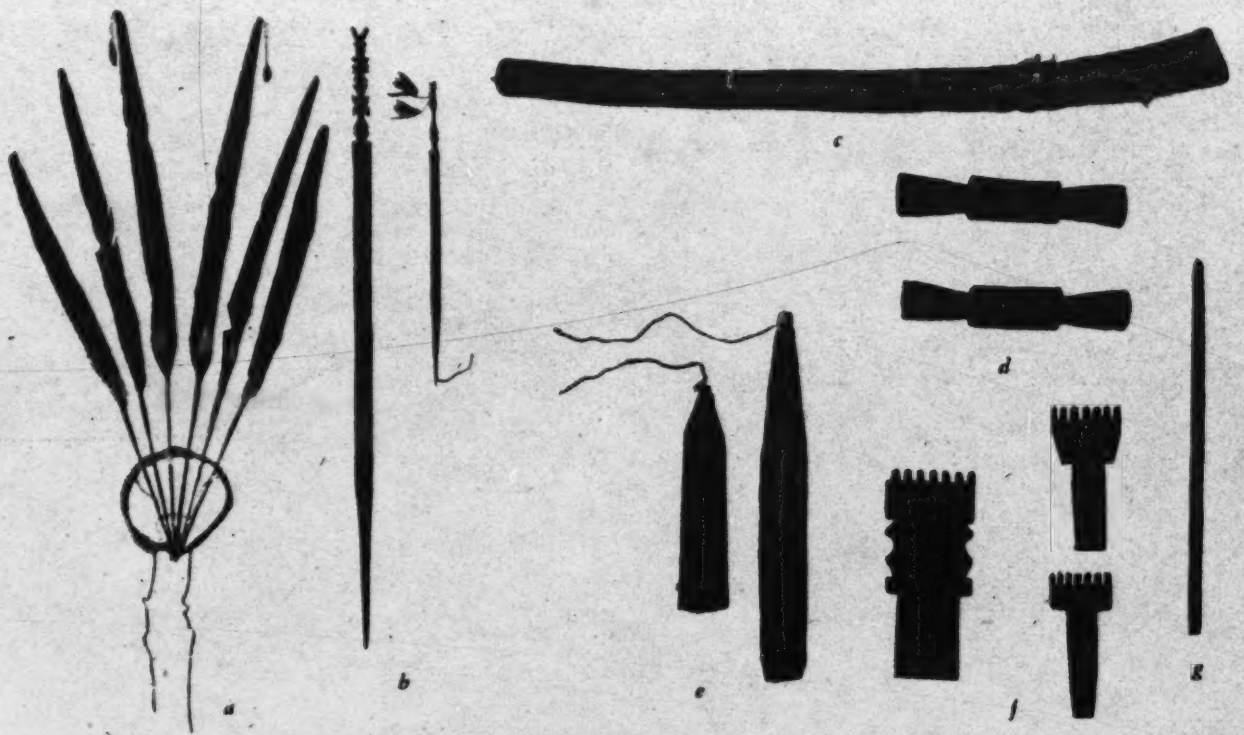

OCCIPITAL ORNAMENT; SCRATCHING STICKS; CEREMONIAL CLUB; MINIATURE PARARE LOGS; BULL-ROARERS; STAMP FOR DOTS; TALLY STICK

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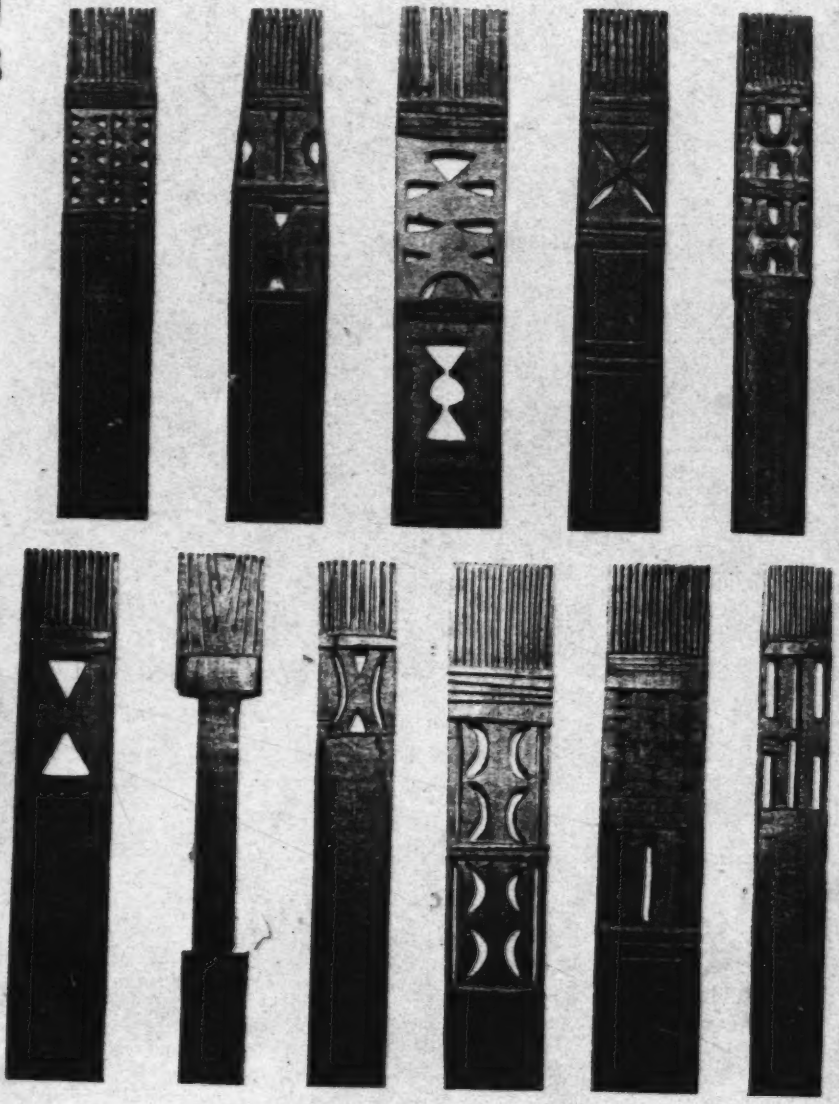

CARVED CLUB HANDLES OF PEPYÉ